

PEACE NEWS

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... AND MORE OF IT

Almost alone among weeklies PEACE NEWS is out on time, despite the printers' overtime strike—thanks to the helpful co-operation of our printers.

Next week we hope to produce our first regular six page paper. We still dare not promise, but we believe we can do it.

IN which case, next Friday's PEACE NEWS will be half as big again, and will include, George Ll. Davies, Patrick Figgis, Percy Redfern, Maurice Cranston, and our cartoonist Weedon among its contributors.

WHAT PROSPECTS FOR THE FREE SOCIETY?

ONE of the lessons the British people are halfway to learning is that their own rightly precious conception of the free society (which they generally call, by a rather deceptive shorthand, Democracy) is not easily applicable to peoples of less political experience.

As we move Eastwards, so the practicability of the free society seems to diminish. The habit of authoritarianism, enforced through centuries by the Russian Tsardom and the Ottoman Empire, is still unchallenged and unbroken. After a very brief moment of hesitation revolutionary Russia picked it up again, and thereby gave a check to the development of the free society under which it is still reeling."

On the whole it must be pronounced that the emergence of the new authoritarianism of Russia, the police-state with a new mechanical efficiency unknown to the Tsardom, was the chief cause of the collapse of the free society in Germany. The injustices of the Versailles Treaty (so trivial compared with the enormities of 1945-46), and the economic crash of 1931, were contributory causes of the triumph of Hitler; but these causes alone would not have brought about the downfall of the Weimar Republic.

But the dictatorial "socialism" of Russia did three things. It split the working-class political movement, and drew one half of it into a fatal propaganda for revolutionary violence; it aroused the fear of the liberal elements, so that Hitler could appeal to them against the Bolshevik menace; and it instructed the Nazis in a successful technique of revolutionary violence and unlimited repression.

Germany the key

NAZI Germany has been overthrown. The question now is whether that key-nation of Europe will gradually become a free society or succumb once more to authoritarianism.

Ambassadors

THE hundred half-guineas for the despatch of a year's Peace News abroad are almost reached. Only three more are required. One sender gently complains that there is "hardly anything in it to cheer him up." Another sends "to help one more copy of PN—the brightest weekly paper in the country—to the Continent."

Perhaps I can please both by quoting from Sir Hugh Robertson's vividly human account of the recent tour of Glasgow Orpheus Choir in Germany, entitled "A German Odyssey" (William Hodge: 2s. 6d.) "Bairns are bairns the world over. The British Tommy knows this, and the British Tommy is seeing to it, wherever he is; seeing that the German children are fed. He saves for them, he scrounges for them; he is their friend, their trusted friend, and the children rise up and call him blessed. In this way he is Britain's best ambassador. Day after day the British Tommy rose in my esteem. Time and again I was moved to tears by his simple acts of human kindness. These simple men are to-day in Germany, the salt of the earth. At any rate, they gave me some of the proudest moments of my life—and the humblest."

THE EDITOR.

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Observer's Commentary

ianism. If it does the latter, we may be reasonably certain that we shall not escape a new world war.

On a short-term view the prospects are pretty black. The real difficulties and the downright failures (neither of which should be underestimated) of organizing a tolerable human life in the British zone have not redounded to the credit of the free society of Britain. More serious is the narrow-minded and short-sighted policy of France, hag-ridden by a panic fear of the resurgent Germany, which has consistently played into the hands of Russia. And Russia has played her cards more cleverly, or at any rate on a much more definite plan, than either Britain or USA.

So that it is easy to be influenced in one's judgment by reports that the Russian zone is comparatively flourishing, and that the British zone is now being unfavourably compared with it. Such reports are inevitable in the present condition of Germany.

A long way to go

THE long-term view is less depressing. Russia has a great deal still to do if she is to win the Germans to friendliness towards her. Our national conscience has been deeply disturbed by the fact that we are keeping nearly 400,000 German prisoners here. Russia is keeping ten times as many, under much harsher conditions. Nor will the fabulous excesses of the undisciplined Russian troops at the moment of victory easily be blotted from the German memory.

Certainly, if the Western zones of Germany, which suffered so much more material devastation than the Eastern, are allowed to become an economic slum while the Russian zone is employed, even the Russian excesses will, in course of time, be discounted. But that is to assume that Britain and America will behave with unbelievable folly.

The positive power of attraction that Russia can exercise on the German people is not great. And though it is easy to argue theoretically that the Germans, having accepted the ultra-authoritarian methods of Nazism, are psychologically and politically conditioned to accept the same thing in its new guise of National Communism, one must be wary of such an abstract argument. The main reason why the average German acquiesced in Nazism was that it saved him from Communism. It is asking much of our credulity to argue that he will now acquiesce in Communism because it saved him from Nazism.

Slump in freedom

BUT the true comfort to be derived from the long-term view is a matter of faith in the free society. There is a slump in faith in the free society, just now. That is not surprising. A subtle propaganda against it has been waged for years by some of the chief organs of the intelligentsia. Their socialism has gradually been corrupted into an adulation of power, because they have never been deeply convinced that the maintenance of the free society is, fundamentally, more important than the achievement of socialism.

Under the influence of the Russian Revolution, when its totalitarian phase was evident, a whole host of Labour intellectuals played with the idea that the correct socialist tactic was for Labour to use a democratic victory to abolish the free society. Even Cripps wobbled; Laski had no doubts. The

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

"Out of the sorrows of the past"

—A LETTER TO LORD BEVERIDGE

... ONE other thing which I did not tell you while you were here: I lost my family, my beloved wife and my three dear little children by British bombs in Dresden. I do not even know how they have died, if they are burned or buried. They were for the last time seen at the Central Station in Dresden during the great air-raid on Dresden and then simply disappeared in the chaos; nobody knows anything about them. I was with the army. And still: I cannot and I will not hate. There has been enough hatred in this world.

★

My life being destroyed, if it shall have any meaning to live on, it is to help that such an immense human mistake as was this war will not happen for a third time. I shall bring up my students to this with all the energy that is left. Tell that over there in England, and if they like, give my address to those who have had a similar experience over there and have not yet found their way back from hatred and bitterness.

I know England well. I have been a student of London and Cambridge, have done research work on the British Commonwealth and paid frequent visits to London, Oxford and Cambridge privately as well as with the International Students' Service. I was anglophile to the bone—until this happened and shook me thoroughly.

I could not get over the fact that there was no intelligible military necessity for the attack on Dresden and that it was nearly exclusively women and children who were killed there; many,

many thousands. But I think I have to get over it: my beloved dead would not expect hatred and revenge and bitterness from me, but only love and work for a better world. How meaningless their sacrifice would be if it would not have this effect and bear fruit.

Up to this moment I have not yet tried to re-establish contacts with anyone over there, not even my old friends. I have been waiting for a voice of personal warmth and human understanding, and in the bottom of my heart I was convinced it would soon be heard—old anglophile I am—and told my students so. Now your visit has brought back to me the atmosphere of my happy London and Cambridge years. These days I shall try to resume my contacts, write to G. and others.

I did feel I should write this to you, to show you what effect your visit has had in the purely personal field. If you need anyone on this side to co-operate towards the great goals which I know to be yours, too, of peace and better understanding between our two people, mainly among the University generation, I am always at your disposal. Perhaps for my knowledge of England and the bitter experience of my life I am particularly apt for such work.

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In sending this letter to The Spectator (Sept. 13), Lord Beveridge, to whom it was written after his recent visit to Germany, added that he would be happy to give his correspondent's name and address "to anyone who would like to get into touch with him, with a view to building, out of the sorrows and mutual destruction of the past, the basis of mutual understanding and peace for the future."

High School for Peace

Elsinore, Denmark.

THE practical achievements of the Folk High Schools of Denmark are well-known: their effect on the social and economic life of that country has been such as to make them one of the major educational contributions to the present age. From a small beginning a century ago, they have now become a vital element in the Danish democratic tradition.

They have had, and still have, their essential place in the life of Denmark; and, correspondingly, the students learn to be aware of their place in the community.

Denmark and the world

These Folk High Schools belong specifically to Denmark: but the High School from which I am writing belongs to the world. The International High School at Elsinore, founded a quarter of a century ago by Peter Manniche, does for the students from the world what the other High Schools do for the students from Denmark.

England's insular position has bred an insular people. This is a fact which admits of little dispute: one has only to observe English people shopping in Copenhagen, and to note the self-assured way—sometimes verging on arrogance—in which they use their English, making no attempt to adapt themselves to another country.

This insularity has naturally grown stronger through the lack of contact with other countries during the war and, together with the rapid changes in social and political structure of many nations, has left people in Britain with a sense of bewilderment about the world. This feeling has, of course, been strengthened by the experiments with atomic power, which add the potentiality of non-existence to what is already in the realms of unreality.

Here, at the International High School, it would indeed be difficult for an Englishman or anyone else to feel insular, for in a very short time one meets people from all quarters of the globe: at this moment there are

students from Norway, Sweden, Denmark, France, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Poland, India, Gold Coast, West Indies, America, England, Wales, Holland, and, on the staff, Germany and Switzerland are also represented. The spirit of international fellowship is remarkable. I have not witnessed, in the course of the week I have spent there, as much as a suspicion of national prejudice amongst the students and staff.

It is indeed a refreshing and exhilarating experience to be able to discuss opinions with people from so many different lands: it is surprising, too, to find how much we have in common. The sharing of a room with two students from Prague University has done more to evoke a feeling of friendship for their country than volumes of propaganda could have done. This is not just a case of smoothing differences in order to live peacefully: it is a natural friendship which is supported by my contacts with many other Czechs here. And so it is with the other nations represented; in the course of one talk with a girl student from Antwerp I learned more about Belgium than I learned in a year at school.

There is not the space to give a full account of the various lectures and other arrangements at the International High School: it can well be imagined that with so many nationalities the curriculum is somewhat complicated. The basic language of the school is English, which is used for many of the lectures. There is great interest shown—especially by the non-Scandinavians—in the course of lectures on Danish Adult Education and Social Conditions, given by the Principal, Peter Manniche, and another Dane, Holger Iisager. One of the recent lectures which aroused much interest was an appreciative analysis of Mr. Middleton Murry's contribution to post-war thought.

One could write a lot about such a place; I limit myself to saying, "See it, if you can, for yourself!" You'll not regret it.

LEOPOLD HUGHMAN

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All letters on other than editorial matters
should be addressed to the Manager

REAL ISSUES

IN the Christian News-Letter (Sept. 18) Dr. J. H. Oldham addresses some words to pacifists which they would do well to ponder:

"When a man asserts that war is so destructive of all that he values as a Christian that he can have no part in it, and claims that his loyalty to the truth as he sees it may, in the providence of God, in ways not immediately perceptible, contribute to the ultimate well-being of human society, his stand commands respect. But it is quite another thing to claim that the course which he is impelled to take on religious grounds is necessarily the one which, in a society actuated in the main by other than Christian motives, is best calculated to preserve peace. Until pacifists are willing to recognise that in the world as it actually is the political effect of their attitude, in proportion as it is widely adopted, may not be to provoke war rather than to arrest it, they are not facing the real issues."

The adjectives "Christian" and "religious" may dispose some pacifists to think they can ignore or evade the direct challenge which these words contain. It is not so. The specific challenge is in the final sentence: and that applies equally to Christian and non-Christian pacifists.

Have we faced, and are we facing the real issues? Are we willing to recognize that, in the world as it actually exists today the political effect of pacifism may be to provoke war rather than to avert it?

We might refuse to recognise it on the ground that it is not true. Can that be seriously maintained? We think not. But if it is convincingly arguable, we should like to hear the arguments.

But, pending those arguments, we will assume that it is true. What follows then?

There are three choices of action. One is that, in spite of his awareness that the known presence of a strong pacifist movement in his country will encourage an aggressively minded nation to aggression, which nevertheless when it becomes intolerable will be resisted by force, the pacifist will persist in his public propaganda.

The second is that the pacifist should deliberately refrain from advocating pacifism as a political attitude at all. In actual practice the line generally taken by those who incline to this view is, in fact, to cease from propaganda for pacifism as such, in times of political tension or war, and devote themselves to forms of service to the community which either pacifists are particularly qualified to perform, or none but pacifists will perform.

The third is that the pacifist, clearly recognising the real though not absolute separation between ethics and politics, will feel himself bound as a pacifist and a citizen publicly to support, or at least not to oppose, the political measures which in his judgment are best calculated to avert the danger of war, even though those measures involve in the last resort recourse to war.

Many would say that such a man was no longer a pacifist on the ground that he has withdrawn his renunciation of war. But this excommunication would be hard to justify. There is no necessary inconsistency in the mind or act of the man who, while obeying his own moral imperative not to participate in war, yet recognises that the nation to which he belongs has a moral imperative of its own—to pursue a policy which, in the given situation, with men and nations governed by the motives by which they are in fact governed, is best calculated to secure peace.

All these attitudes are, we think, capable of justification—even the first: particularly if it is enunciated in terms which make absolutely clear that this attitude calls for a definite acceptance by the nation of a policy of complete political surrender—non-resistance to evil on a national scale. But if these attitudes are to be simultaneously held and publicly professed by members of a single association it behoves them to think very seriously indeed of what nature their association can be.

THE SQUATTER

I HAVE just had a conversation with War.

The effects of his last outbreak are so different from what we expected that I decided to go straight to the stable and get an explanation from the horse's mouth of the Apocalypse.

I'd found it useless to talk to the mortals concerned. All they can do is accuse each other of threats of War. So I concluded that the trouble was all due to the disappointing behaviour of the war itself, which had failed to fulfil its early promise and proved totally unworthy of the confidence placed in it.

WE made it quite clear to War what we wanted him to do—defeat Nazism. And on the completion of the job he should have retired, offered his seat to Peace with a gentlemanly bow, and left her to get on with reconstruction according to plan.

So when the Germans were beaten, and the last German child had been dismembered to save Christendom, we said to War, "Well, thank you very much, you can go now. I don't suppose we shall be wanting you again, but we shall never forget all you've done for us and we'll see that it is duly acknowledged in literature and the arts."

But he simply refuses to go. He remains completely in control of international affairs and shows no sign of moving.

War has been called many things

in his time, but we never knew he was a Squatter.

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SO, as I say, I went to War and asked him politely if he would care to tell me why he refuses to vacate the premises. He said he would be charmed. All the gods have nice manners when they like.

"You must realise," he said, "that I didn't come because I wanted to. There is no fun or glory in war nowadays, and I would much rather retire from that branch of my business. I came because I was called. Indeed, in all my life I have never received such a pressing invitation."

"YOU said I was absolutely necessary to your survival, and appealed to me as your only hope of salvation from the loss of your civilization, your religion, your culture, your morality and all that made life worth living."

"I was highly honoured. I was a god already, but in raising me to the status of Last Resort, you conferred upon me a new degree of divinity which I, a mere Olympian second-ranker and one of the younger sons of Zeus, never hoped to acquire."

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"WELL, I could have got out of all that. It is a rule in the skies that any god may, if he wishes, withdraw his countenance from his worshippers. Jehovah, you remember, was always doing it."

"But on top of all that you did one thing which prevented me from

Letters to the Editor

Flies on the wheel

IN any period of history it is the pacifist's task to stand against the emotional current, which is always the canalizing of the stream of nationalism. In the period before 1939 the pacifist was inevitably accused of being pro-Fascist. Now if he is doing his job Communist will be the label applied to him.

As the tension grows from day to day between the "Western democracies" and the "Dictatorship" of the East it is his inescapable task to sift, weigh and scrutinise the facts and opinions dictated to us by our radio and press and present what is, if not a truer picture (for truth has many facets, and it is impossible to express more than a few at a time) at least a picture less coloured by national self-interest, that octopus which strangles the thinking of all but the most free.

To invite people into the pacifist movement now should not be merely to invite them into a minority organization tolerated in a democratic country where one is not, unless of conscription age, in danger of coming into conflict with the authorities, but to invite into a sort of permanent opposition in politics, paralleling on a more superficial level, the conflict in the human soul between what appears as healthy self-interest and neediness, morbid, sacrifice.

We may expect to be no more than flies on the wheel of the national blind greed, providing that small friction which at least prevents its faster progress. Our counterparts in other countries must have their similar tasks, hampering ever so little the progress of their own national governments towards the ends which their national self-interest has dictated. The achievement of the pacifist is often in that precise moment when he is accused of disloyalty—"their treacherous truthfulness and their loyal deceit."

Gwyneth Anderson.

170 Adelaide Road, N.W.3.

Half-time for UNO

AFTER reading Clarita Milroy's article "Men versus Politicians," my mind went back to a time when I watched some German prisoners playing football in the street where I live with some boys who had just come out of school. The prisoners were acting as dustmen but, being human, directly they saw a football they joined in the game with the boys.

I only wish some of our politicians had been there to witness the sincere friendliness shown both by the British boys and the prisoners. In this way is true brotherhood encouraged.

May be it would be a good idea if the politicians at the UNO conference were to adjourn and all have a game of football. I am certain there would be better results than we have had up to now. If some enterprising international sports promoter could fix up a football match, who knows, he might prove to be the greatest promoter of peace yet.

(Mrs.) L. HUNTER.

48 Peterborough Road, Carshalton, Surrey.

The fatal balance

IN the editorial of the Sunday Times the following paragraph appears:—

"For upward of three centuries British foreign policy has been dominated by the doctrine of a balance of power in Europe. This implies that Europe should not achieve a strategic unity under the domination of a single Power; and so Spain, France and Germany in turn became our adversaries."

This is of course not "news" to socialists and pacifists—and it is too late in the day for most of us to use this useful piece of evidence in front of Tribunal Chairmen who would undoubtedly have accepted the statement as gospel in view of its source.

We thank the Sunday Times for admitting the truth even at this late hour and the cutting is being duly filed for further reference and maybe use.

G. G. D. MILNE, A.C.R.A.

Glengarriff, 58 Shirley Drive, Hove, 4.

War, posing as a god and a gentleman, remains completely in control of international affairs, says

Owlglass

who obtained this special interview with the ambassador of War before his departure for the Paris Conference.

leaving you. You made me a Means to an End.

"That's where you went wrong. You see, as a Means, I was bound to behave as Means always must behave, and become the End itself."

"I HAD no choice in the matter.

As a god and a gentleman I would do anything to oblige, but I cannot separate cause from effect nor means from ends. A divinity can do all sorts of clever things, but no god, not even Zeus himself, can operate outside the laws of his own universe. It is not in his interests to disregard natural law, even if he could."

"Besides, I am the last to whom you should make such a request. Am I not Arès, god of war and agriculture, lord of the Seasons and Keeper of the door of the year? You must not ask me to introduce chaos. Your harvest is poor enough this year as it is!"

"It goes against the grain to outstay my welcome. But you chose to cast out War by War, so naturally War remains. You must face the fact that I have come to stay. You chose me as a Means, you must keep me as an End."

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I WAS very much upset by this. "Do you mean we must go on having wars for ever?" I asked, swallowing an aspirin.

"There is a way out," he said. "You can renounce me. It's quite simple. All you need do is to abandon your attempts at security and destroy all your means of defence. Then I should have to go. I could not remain in your society without visible means of sustenance."

"AND now you must excuse me. I am due at the Paris Conference, where the Allies are busy safeguarding themselves from each other and making my presence indispensable."

"At every session they unanimously assert their absolute dependence upon me and elect me to preside over their discussions. It would not be polite to stay away. Good afternoon."

Every one of the 14,022

members whose names are in the "live" file of the

PEACE PLEDGE UNION

has been sent a copy of the Autumn Appeal. If you know a member who has not received one it means that the records are incorrect.

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N.B. We have just received a large consignment of BATSFORD books, including many of their popular and hitherto unobtainable titles. Please send your enquiries to us.

124 SHAFTESBURY AVENUE, W.1.

Words of Peace - No. 189

PERSONAL

The political problem as a practical problem is a problem of enterprise, invention and creation, and therefore wholly individual and personal. All knowledge helps; but no single knowledge will ever tell me what I must do, because this is solely the secret of my own being and the discovery of my will. As long as the problem is stated in the impersonal and objective form "What must the world do? What must Italy do?" it is stated in a form that is debatable in the abstract but insoluble in practice. What the world must and will do is and will be known by the world and not by me; what Italy must and will do is known by Italy and not by me. On the contrary the correct way of expressing the problem is "What must I do?—I who live in the world, in Italy etc.?"

Benédetto Croce, in "Politics and Morals."

FAITHFUL RECORD OF FAMILY LIFE IN GERMANY

THE film of the moment so far as readers of Peace News are concerned is undoubtedly the 16mm. documentary sound picture made in the British Zone of Germany by members of the Friends Relief Service, which was shown for the first time at Friends Meeting House, London, last week.

It is called "While Germany Waits" and runs for about an hour. It is unfortunate that the film is unsuitable for presentation in a public cinema, though most halls will provide satisfactory accommodation.

The film is a faithful record of family life in Germany today showing the extensive damage caused by Allied bombing of such centres as Dortmund, Essen, Cologne and Hamburg, and presenting pictorially the problems of rebuilding, and the shattered life of these cities. The effect upon the ordinary civilian population of the shortage of food and the lack of housing accommodation is vividly depicted.

There are also scenes portraying the difficulties of fitting civilians, banished from the former German territories in Eastern Europe, into the life of the British Zone, and the attempt to rebuild democratic ways of life in the farms and villages. One special sequence shows life in the Displaced Persons' Camps, where thousands of people are still being cared for, pending decisions about their future. You can also see the work now being done by the voluntary relief workers and their organizations.

Plans have already been made for

this film to tour the provinces following its three weeks' showing in the London area, and a winter programme for presentation in many parts of the British Isles has been arranged up to April of next year.

Friends Relief Service are willing to provide a screen, projector and operator, who can give a short talk also if required, but groups will be expected to provide hospitality. No charge is normally made for the use of the film, though a fee, in addition to a collection, would help towards the considerable expenses incurred.

It is not possible, however, to accept bookings from any area outside the allotted periods and those readers and groups anxious to take advantage of the facilities offered are advised to get in touch direct with Margaret Crossfield, Information Department, Friends Relief Service, Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1, who will provide full details of programmes and advertising literature.

Another documentary film depicting the life of more than 12,000 conscientious objectors in Civilian Public Services in America during World War II has now been completed. It is a standard 16mm. film, requiring two reels with a running time of about 45 minutes, but unfortunately is not yet available in this country.

According to the Reporter, organ of the National Service Board for Religious Objectors, Washington, the most dramatic shots portray the parachute jumpers in action on the forest fire front in the west. The production is silent with printed titles and no attempt at glorification is made.

RETREAT FROM DISARMAMENT

A DISPATCH from Paris, by Paul W. Ward of the Baltimore "Sun," suggests that the "road back to peace" is paved with fewer good intentions than it was at the Peace Conference of 27 years ago. Ward shows that the peacemakers of Paris this summer are much less interested in disarmament as a means of insuring peace than were their predecessors in 1919-20. The proposed documents today contain no such clause as the following which appeared in those signed in 1919 and 1920:

"In order to render possible the initiation of a general limitation of armaments of all nations, Germany (or Bulgaria, Austria or Hungary) undertakes strictly to observe the military, naval and air clauses . . ."

The provisions of the proposed peace treaties with Bulgaria and Hungary indicate that these defeated nations will be left at least twice as strong militarily as they were at the conclusion of the peace treaties after the last war. The treaties of 1919 and 1920 forbade enemy countries to have any military aircraft. Today, Bulgaria and Hungary may have fighter aircraft, but no bombers. Conquered countries in 1919-20 were forbidden to have compulsory military training; today's treaties contain no such prohibition.

Italy was among the victors at the peace table in 1919-20; today it is a defeated nation. The proposed peace treaty will allow Italy to have a military force much larger than that permitted defeated Germany at Versailles (but still less than Yugoslavia's).

—Human Events, July 31.

The Major who might have died

AS far back as April of this year, Major W. E. Vernon, Labour MP for Dulwich, decided to start a self-inflicted experiment of living on a "Continental diet" of under 1,000 calories daily. During the Easter holidays his home was besieged with newspapermen anxious to know the results of his experiment after only a few days of dieting.

You may recall the earlier reports which appeared in the Press to the effect that he was losing weight but so far feeling no ill effects. At the end of the fourth week, when he had lost a stone in weight, the newspapers seemed no longer interested. In fact, as far as any interested readers were concerned Major Vernon might have died from malnutrition, as nothing more was heard in this country of his welfare or the experiment.

Fifteen weeks

Talking to Major Vernon this week, Peace News learned that the experiment actually lasted fifteen weeks, during which period this MP lived on an average of less than 1,000 calories daily. His total loss in weight amounted to 30 lbs., though he admitted the advantage of being able to draw on reserves of fat, which many people in Europe had exhausted a long time ago.

Although British newspapers ceased to show interest, Major Vernon has since received letters from different parts of the world. He had one letter from the Argentine which referred to reports of his dieting, published in Swiss newspapers, while comments in German newspapers generally expressed the view that it was a "serious and sensible thing to do."

One of these German newspapers, from which Major Vernon sends us an extract, refers to the experiment as "a scientific and objective consideration of the European hunger crisis" and adds: "We do not wish to make things appear brighter than they are or to flatter anyone; but there is no use pretending that starvation in Europe is anywhere near 'banned.'"

I.V.S.P. CONFERENCE

At a recent one-day conference of the IVSP London Group a more positive approach towards compulsory national service was urged, according to the August News Letter. A majority felt that IVSP should bring together other societies prepared to organise their own types of civilian project which would do more to prevent war than could be done by a rigid opposition to conscription.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

Ten Years Ago

Peace News, Sept. 26, 1936.

A call to the British Government "to utilise the forthcoming meetings of the Assembly of the League of Nations for an urgent appeal in favour of a united mediation, designed to bring the war to an end, and enable the elected Government of Spain to restore peaceful conditions and to promote the well-being of the Spanish people" is contained in a resolution adopted by the Executive Committee of the National Peace Council on Thursday of last week.

Our attitude is not one merely of non-resistance but of non-violent resistance, and we believe that that attitude only implements the verdict of the official Church that "all war is contrary to the mind of Christ."—Canon H. R. L. Sheppard.

The total weight of all the bombs dropped on England by German aeroplanes during the whole of the war was of the order of fifty tons. Mr. A. L. Rawlings in an address at the close of the British Association Conference at Blackpool last week.

Cosmos, Man and Society

THERE is one terrible fact we must realise. The recent world conflict costing millions of lives, and playing a devastating part in lowering the fertility of our earth, has brought us into opposition with time. Time is no longer our ally—in fact it has become our implacable foe. Every injustice that goes by unchallenged, every violation of truth unchecked brings us closer to the day of wrath and reckoning. . . . "Each of us must make peace with himself" so as to sow new seed that will bring peace to the world.

This is the conclusion of Patrick Douglas-Henry, in his lengthy review of Professor Edmond Székely's book, "Cosmos, Man and Society," which appears in Tidings for August, 1946.

Hitherto," says Patrick Douglas-Henry, "all our problems have been considered from the political and economic points of view, with the result man has been reduced to a mere economic unit. 'Cosmos, Man and Society' rescues him from such a degrading and retrogressive rut and

considers him from his physiological and biological foundations."

This monumental work of Székely, as Douglas-Henry puts it, is translated by L. Purcell Weaver with drawings by Arthur Wragg, and is published by C. W. Daniel and Co.

WE are a small minority, and a minority so small that it is still idle for us to dream of assuming national responsibility. But the responsibility we can and must assume is the responsibility of teaching. And in that task there is enough work for a lifetime. The mental fight is on now as never before; we must wield the sword of the spirit with a vengeance now. We must do battle with those political adolescents who think that conscription will save us, and co-operate with anyone, pacifist or non-pacifist who has the imagination to want to heal the wounds of Europe and to feed the hungry.—Alan Shadwick in a letter from England published in Tidings, August, 1946.

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

LATEST time for copy: Monday before publication.

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 5d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length: 50 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

MEETINGS, &c.

KINGS CROSS Central Mission, Crestfield St. (opposite Kings Cross) on Fri., Oct. 4, 7.30 p.m. "Atomic Energy: Social and Political Implications," Dr. Kathleen Lonsdale, F.R.S. Central London Group PPU.

LIVERPOOL 2, Common Hall, Hackins Hey, Fri., Oct. 4, 7.30 p.m. "Germany and the Peace," Fenner Brockway.

LONDON, Charing Cross Rd., St. Martin's School of Art, Thurs., Oct. 3, 7 p.m.: Scott Williamson on the Peckham Experiment. Phoenix Meeting.

LONDON, W.C.1, 8 Endsleigh Gardens. Discussion lectures every Sun., 7.30 p.m. Sept. 29: "Rahabine—An Irish Commune," John Hewetson. Oct. 6: "The Political and Cultural Aim of the Catholic Church," F. A. Ridley. London Anarchist Group.

WESTMINSTER, The Hall of the National Society, 69 Gt. Peter St., Fri., Oct. 18, 7 p.m., "Christ and the Atom Bomb." Speakers: The Archbishop of Stoke-on-Trent, Dr. Alex. Wood. Chairman: The Lady Patmore.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

NAILSWORTH F.M.H., Oct. 12-13, commencing 4 p.m. "Pacifism in the Atomic Age." Speakers: John Hoyal, Alan Mixer, Will Parkin. Chairman: the Rev. Hampden Horne. Week-end School, Stroud PPU and FOR.

SELY OAK, F.M.H., Sun., Oct. 6, 3 p.m. "Palestine," Mary Pumphrey, Midland Pacifist Fellowship.

ACCOMMODATION UNFURN. ROOMS or house wanted, man, wife and child, nr. Peterborough or Boston. Box 536.

YOUNG COUPLE urgently require flat, furn. or unfurn., vicinity London. Box 534.

C.O. HAS available 2-room flatlet, suit one person, Balham, London; every conv., 35s. excl. gas. Box 533.

LAKE DISTRICT. Beck Allans and Rothay Bank, Grasmere, attractive vegetarian guest houses for strenuous or restful holidays. Write: Isabel James, Beck Allans, Grasmere. Tel.: 129.

DELIGHTFULLY SITUATED in sunny Surrey, modern vegetarian guest house, cradled amidst pine woods 2½ acres own grounds. Vacancies Sept. onwards. Pinebrae, Frensham Vale, Lower Bourne, Farnham, Surrey. Tel.: Frensham 417.

DERRYSHIRE HILLS. Food Reform Vegetarian Guest House for happy holidays or restful recuperation; all modern comforts. A. and K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, Matlock. (Station: Ambergate: Tel. Ambergate 44).

EDUCATIONAL SPEAKING AND WRITING lessons (correspondence or visit) 5s. classes 1s. 6d. Dorothy Matthews, B.A., 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London. N.W.3. PRIMROSE 5686.

FOR SALE & WANTED

"TO CLEAR." Economy labels, various slogans—Quaker Declaration, Feed Hungry Europe, Esperanto—1s. 3d. 100, 10s. 1,000, post free. Bridgen, 102 Kilmore Rd., London, S.E.23.

PLASTIC TWO-COLOUR bracelets 2s. each, novelty face cloths 1s. 6d., plain with fancy border 1s. 3d., plus postage. Suitable gifts. Hutchins, Twyden, Goudhurst, Kent.

SANDAL SLIPPERS. No coupons. Parts to easily assemble. Rubberised felt. Grey, Brown, Blue or Green. Adults sizes 8s. Child's 6s. 3d. Including tax and postage. Wilkane Ltd., Dept. 13, Eastbourne.

AEROMODELLING SUPPLIES. Also fancy papers, transfers, toy wheels, lamp standards for finishing, modern picture frames. Rawlplug products. Send s.a.e. for lists. Wilkane Ltd., Dept. 13, Eastbourne.

WAR RESISTERS' International wd. welcome gifts of foreign stamps for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Pl. send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield.

LITERATURE, &c.

THE OCTOBER "Adelphi" (1s. 6d.) will contain an essay by Herbert Read on De Tocqueville and Modern America. Order it now from any W. H. Smith's.

QUAKERISM. Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

PERSONAL

OLD WHITE shirts mean football colours. Blackout materials mean shorts. Please will you help? Send to Warden, Despard House, 2 Currie Street, S.W.8.

LONELY? GENUINE correspondence friendships arranged. Particulars, "Letuselpu" Club, 32 Barlow Road, Manchester 19.

YOU WILL find true Friendship in the L. and H. C. C. Club. Parties. from Sec., 39 Reighton Rd., London, E.5. S.a.e.

ASTROLOGY.—A free Test Horoscope. Helpful advice and guidance. Send Birthdate, stamped-addressed envelope. The Psycho-Success Institute, (A.28), 64 Aldermanbury, London, E.C.2.

CONTACT CLUB. Congenial pen friendships for all. Parties, stp. Sec., P.N. 19 Ty Fry Gdn., Runcy, Cardiff.

ACTIVE PROPONENTS. Gerald Heard or Aldous Huxley basic theories 1935-1945. or Somerset Maugham's Razor Edge. Write Sec. Heard-Huxley Group, "Merville," Tulse Hill, S.W.2.

SITUATIONS VACANT

We cannot confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised. Applications in doubt are recommended to consult the Central Board for C.O.s, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

THE SHEPPARD Press. Applications are invited for the post of business manager to this publishing house. The qualities sought are energy and drive, experience in the production and selling of books, and a comprehension of the human predicament to which pacifism is a response. Apply, with full particulars and minimum salary required, to John Middleton Murry, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.

ALL ROUND help in home needed immediately. Whittle, Far Forest Vicarage, Kidderminster, Worcs.

HELP WANTED. Domestic work and garden, rabbits and fowls. Preferably someone interned under 18B. husband, wife and child, or two friends. First consideration mutual content. Happy home, nr. sea, Sussex. Box 529.

SITUATIONS and WORK WANTED WE HAVE applications from all types of clerical workers except shorthand-typists. Notification of such vacancies would be a help to us. CBOC Employment Sect., 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

CHRISTIAN PACIFIST now released tribunal condition, seeks other work. 14 years experience grocery trade, wholesale, retail and clerical. Married, no family. Box 535.

CHANGE of occupation required by London schoolteacher (23). Interested music, books and politics. Dilys Johnson, 4 Briarwood Rd., S.W.4.

FIRST CLASS duplicating of all descriptions, typewriting, etc. Mabel Eyles, 2 Aberdeen Park, Highbury, N.5. Tel. Canonbury 3862.

TYPEWRITERS ARE scarce. Send that typing to Lowes, 1s. 3d. per 1,000 words. Quick service. 4 Percy Garden Cottages, Tynemouth.

MISCELLANEOUS

REG. J. BAILEY, Osteopath-Naturopath and Bates Practitioner (formerly of 134 Hoppers Rd., N.21) will be operating his practice on and after Oct. 7, 1946. from 99 Arncliffe Grove, Southgate, N.14. Palmers Green 4745.

ACCOUNTANT C.O. writes up traders bks.; attends to all Income Tax matters; company formation; audits and costing. Provincial clients visited without obligation. Box 98.

JOHN SNOW, Naturopath and Psychologist advises on health and mind problems and Dietetics. Consultation and Post. 14 Lamb Close, Winchester Road, London, N.9.

Our behaviour now on trial

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

Webbs had always been impatient of the free society. It stood in the way of their beneficent reorganizations: it was as obsolete as local government by Vestry.

This type of mind has proliferated among the British intelligentsia. It is without philosophic or religious depth, without any deeply pondered system of values: and therefore without any inward resistance to the temptation to prostrate itself before Planning and Power. Indeed, that was what Socialism reduced itself to in minds of this type: it was the Power to Plan. When this appeared on a colossal scale in Soviet Russia, their admiration knew no bounds. That it was achieved by the deliberate destruction of the free society was at most "a mote to trouble the mind's eye."

Tolerance and truth

TO preserve oneself from these fatal aberrations it is necessary to believe in the free society. That does not mean to believe in it blindly, though even that is much better than not to believe in it. But belief in the free society is firmest when it is known to be justified at the bar of reason.

In the last resort belief in the free society is based on the conviction that there is a purpose and meaning in the process of human life. Human life, which is the life of man in society (since apart from society man is not man at all), is a progressive revelation of the meaning of existence. The fuller and richer the human life in society, the more completely is the purpose and meaning of life made manifest. Human life is at its fullest and richest in the free society, in which men can make the full contribution of their thought to the total consciousness. The distinctive mark of the free society is tolerance.

Without tolerance the free society is impossible and inconceivable. And the widespread habit of tolerance implies that there is no absolute and final truth. Truth is progressively revealed, and the free society is the best society precisely because it removes the obstacles to that progressive revelation of the truth.

The free society is thus categorically opposed in idea to all societies that are based on the possession of final truth by any authority. The

truth, in the free society, lies in the form of the free society itself.

The British achievement

THIS is, of course, a deeply religious idea: a profound philosophy. It is also, in a sense, self-evident. It is the idea behind, or revealed through, the political history of the British people. Because we have come by the practice of tolerance by a long and gradual process, we do not easily realize what a tremendous achievement it is, or what profound implications it has. It is by far the noblest philosophy in existence, and it is indestructible. Particular free societies may come to grief, but only in order that future free societies may learn by their mistakes.

Essential idealism

THE attractive power of the idea of the free society upon the German people is far greater than that of the idea of the totalitarian society. Of that we who believe in the free society may be assured. Our business is, first, to see to it, as far as we can, that our own free society does not fail: that it resists the contamination of itself by those who hanker after authoritarianism to fill the vacuum in their own hearts and minds.

Secondly, we must see to it that our free society behaves towards the German people in a manner worthy of itself. We must not allow a British government to talk as though the sole reason for a more enlightened policy was that the occupation of the British zone was costing us £80 millions a year. If the expenditure of £800 millions a year could assure the establishment of the free society in Germany it would be cheap at the price. We must learn to talk to the profoundly philosophical mind of Germany in terms worthy of our own principles.

We must consciously pit the essential idealism of the free society against the essential materialism of the totalitarian society. And we must not be suborned by the false philosophy of Russia into conducting a one-sided vendetta against the Nazis: for if the Nazis are heretics in the free society, so equally are the Communists.

JAPAN TODAY 'MAGNIFICENT OPPORTUNITY'

JAPAN to-day offers a magnificent opportunity for Christianity, said Bishop Mann, former bishop of the diocese of Hiroshima, who up to 1941 had spent 35 years of his life in Japan, at Dick Sheppard House on Monday last.

He commended the policy of trust in the Japanese demonstrated by the Allied Powers. It was impossible to get into Japan without permission from Gen. MacArthur, Supreme Commander. When he returned to Tokyo recently there was not a single sentry on duty near his hotel, and despite the fact that roads ran alongside the building no "security" precautions were taken and he was given perfect freedom.

He thought that the future for Japan must be very difficult. She had been completely disarmed and the people were making a certain amount of capital out of this fact, he declared. There had been debates in the Diet suggesting that Japan was setting an example to the world with her present peace programme and that she was the only country that had ever done it.

He believed that the reason for the American Government's recent change in "draft age" policy was the result of thousands of cablegrams sent by protesting G.I.s in Japan demanding that the "19's" should be recruited to relieve the present Forces in Japan in view of the long term policy of occupation.

"NO HATRED"

Worldover Press Correspondent, Howard F. Van Zandt, who speaks fluent Japanese, has just completed a five months tour over two-thirds of Japan. He asked trusted Japanese why in Germany, American occupation troops ran into so many evidences of hatred, while in Japan none was apparent. The answer lies partly in the failure of Japanese propagandists. "In only one way," a dependable Japanese told him, "were our military successful in misleading the people. By frequent reference to your crime and sex motion pictures the idea was spread that Americans were gangsters and their sex lives habitually loose."

PPU SEEKING AN EXPRESSION OF PACIFISM IN WORLD POLICY

When PPU National Council met on September 14-15, the more formal business was taken on the Saturday so that the Sunday morning could be free for a discussion on policy.

The Council received with regret the resignation of John Barclay but asked him to reconsider his decision! Patrick Figgis and Frank Lea were co-opted to Council. Frank Dawtry was nominated to serve on the WRI Council until their next International Conference.

The Directors of Peace News having agreed to ask National Council to fill all future vacancies on the Board, the Executive was asked to appoint to the existing vacancies.

The resignation of Ken Woodroffe as Secretary of the Service Committee was reported and it was decided to postpone any decision about the further appointment of a full-time paid Secretary until after a forthcoming Conference with other pacifist organizations on the whole question of service.

IN the policy discussion John Middleton Murry reviewed the rapidly hardening division of the world into two antagonistic spheres. He emphasized the difference in character between the Eastern and Western blocs, as also the fundamental conception which Russia had of the world. He reached the conclusion that the present action of Soviet Russia marked her out as an aggressive imperialism which no demand for security could justify.

Though pacifists must refuse to sanction war to redress such a wrong they must not refuse to recognize or condemn the wrong. He did not believe that peaceful relations between Russia and the rest of the world were possible so long as the fundamental beliefs which governed Russian policy and her system of internal government remained unchanged. He took his stand on the principle of non-resistance, persuaded both by his conscience and his consciousness that loyalty to the intuition of good must not be weakened even though there was no guarantee of successful application of such a principle.

Differing emphases

In the ensuing discussion, while there was general agreement with the main line of argument and conclusions reached by John Middleton Murry, some members wanted much greater stress laid on the necessity for pursuing a friendly policy towards Russia and a more sympathetic understanding of her difficulties, while others thought it essential to be as explicit about the evils in other systems of government as Mr. Murry had been about Russia.

It was agreed that the acceptance of non-resistance as a fundamental principle should lead to the working out of the international policy expressive of non-resistance, and that this should await the forthcoming Cambridge Conference. Council expressed the desire that a book should be published as soon as possible dealing with the present situation and the pacifist answer to it, and that in view of the value of a discussion on policy at such a high level opportunity for similar discussions should be given at forthcoming Council meetings.

(A fuller account of Middleton Murry's paper will appear in the forthcoming issue of the PPU Journal).

Her heritage - for peace

Die Weltbuehne, pacifist paper once edited by the late Carl von Ossietzky, is again being published in Berlin. New editor is von Ossietzky's widow, Maud, who has re-dedicated the journal to the fight for pacifism and democracy, says Worldover Press.

PACIFISTS AND THE YMCA

In a letter published in Peace News Miss Esme Wynne-Tyson referred to the disabilities allegedly placed upon pacifists seeking work with the YMCA.

We now learn from the Gen. Secretary of its National Council that "although during the war such a policy was to some extent in operation under the special circumstances in which our work was then carried on, it no longer obtains."

Federal Union calls world conference

IN order to co-ordinate the work of Federalists throughout the world, Federal Union has called an International conference to be held in Luxembourg next month, which will be attended by about 60 delegates from some twenty different countries.

The British delegation will be led by at least two MPs and permission has already been given for an observer to attend from the Federal Union organization set up in the British Zone of Germany. It is also hoped to have a similar representative from Austria. Two representatives of India will be present. The conference plans to form an International Council to unite the forces of all those who are working for world government.

News of this conference was announced at the first of a series of Federal Union meetings held in Conway Hall last weekend.

WILKINS BUILDS AGAIN

Bill Wilkins, the Brighton C.O., has been successful at his Advisory Tribunal and is to be discharged from the Army and recommended to take up work as a plasterer in the building trade, which he told the Tribunal he was anxious to do.

Wilkins, who had been sentenced to 10 (reduced to 5) years' penal servitude, which was finally suspended after 12 months, has been almost continuously in prison or detention since the beginning of March, 1945.

"De-conditioning"

Conditionally registered C.O.s are likely to receive their releases from their Tribunal conditions as follows:

Men: Group 39, Sept. 28; 40, Oct. 8; 41, Oct. 22; 42 and 43, Nov. 20; 44 and 45, Dec. 24. Women: Group 52, Oct. 17; 53, Nov. 20; 54, Dec. 17.

C.O.s should make sure that their present addresses are recorded with the Ministry of Labour.

FRIENDS! 1s. 6d. an hour

is the price you pay for a row on the Thames to keep you fit and gay from HAMMERTON'S FERRY, Twickenham any day—Where the restful beauty of river and trees Create thoughts of brotherhood, Peace and ease.

(Do write Brother Attlee to abolish conscription please.)

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9a, HIGH STREET, BARNSTAPLE

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THIS commonest of all disease conditions amongst civilised peoples, greatly impairs mental efficiency, lowers resistance to infection, and generally debilitates its innumerable victims. The true remedy is to de-toxicate the system, restore the clean bloodstream of youth, and then reform the diet and other habits of living.

Garlic—a prescription with 5000 years of history—is a most powerful disinfecting agent; and greatly helps in neutralising and liquifying catarrh.

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Three coloured cards at 4d. each.
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Send 1s. 6d. postal order not stamps, for specimen set to—

PEACE NEWS

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

THE ABORTION LAW REFORM ASSOCIATION

A DISCUSSION

will be held in the Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, on Sat., Oct. 12, at 2.30 p.m. on a Resolution beginning:—

"It is urgently necessary to amend the Sections of the Offences against the Person Act relating to Abortion."

SPEAKERS: Dorothy Thurtle (member of the 1937 Government Committee on Abortion); Hilda Browning; R. S. W. Pollard; Janet Chance.

Admission free.

Information: Hilda Browning,
34 Victoria St., S.W.1.